

HIS
HIGHNESSE
THE
Lord Protector-protected:

In his accepting, or (if you will have it so) in his assuming the Protectorship, as is here cautioned, and all the clamors, cavils, exceptions, and objections against either, as unlawful, or King-like (as some please to call it) fully refuted, and answered, or satisfied, &c.

Written in Honor of his *Highbness*, so of all our other present Powers, whether Creators, or Createds, to quit them of the aspersions of Usurpers, or unlawful Powers, and to quell or qualifie their Opposers, and render the said Powers a-right, as they are in point of Power; as for execution of their said Powers, it concerns them to see to themselves, as it doth us all to allow them their grains of weight, which the weightiest must be allow'd, even the Exceptors own self.

Likewise the Peoples Rights and Liberties are fully maintain'd, as either side are capable of maintaining them.

Lastly, all exceptions against the Ordinance about TREASON answered, and it's conceived, that it were Treason not to make such an ORDINANCE.

And the eyes of all Israel were on the Son of Jesse, or David, as wiser and abler in his in and out-goings, then any of all Sauls servants, so that Saul himself was afraid of him, for that he saw the Lord was with him, 1 Samuel 18.

Read all, or nothing at all, also judg judiciously, and ingenuously, or not at all, for it's against the Law of Romans, Heathens, and Pagans, to judg of any one, or any thing, before thoroughly understood,

S. H. Senior.

London: Printed for William Ley at Pauls-Chain, 1654.

no T

THE CHURCH

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
130 St. George Street
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1A5
EST. 1827

In a meeting of the Church of England...

...the following resolutions were passed...

Resolved, That the Church of England...

...in the year 1845...

Resolved, That the Church of England...

...the following resolutions were passed...

Resolved, That the Church of England...

...the following resolutions were passed...

4897

S. W. Gordon



To his Highnesse the LORD PROTECTOR.

May it please your Highness,

NEW occasions do necessarily invite to this second Dedication, as relating to the first, to wait on you also; your servant doth humbly intreat your Highness pardon of this his necessitated presumption, by reason of the aforesaid reason; also your acceptance and fairest construction of his upright intentions, and he will not be further offensive by prolix enlargement, seeing the insuings will in their due places, say what more is to be said, only he makes bold to subscribe himself

Your Highness most humble
servant,

Samuel Hunton.



Courteous Reader,

I Am in a manner by our suddain alterations call'd to alter some things, and add also, to second my first man, least he be over-man'd by new clamors, &c. for sure I cannot now scape branding for a Time-server, a flatterer, and what not? be it as it will, though I will otherwise, for such thou shalt not find me, though I should find thee such. In short, no *Sanballass* neither ought, nor shall deviate me from my duties of any nature; more I have not to say, for that the followings will say it.

So I rest thy servant, as thou art judicious and ingenuous (else do what thou canst, thou art mine.)

S. H.

Read the Margent I pray thee also, that so thou mayest not come short of my intentions; and if then thou beest not fully satisfied, see our *Army-Arm'd* sold by Mr. *William Ley* at *Pauls-Chain*.



The Lord Protector protected, &c.



Our former Tract of the Army-Armed, were it well minded, might have spared this second; but most Readers are incomprehensive, and the comprehensive inconsiderate; it's a hard task then, to make things (though good) good to uncapable, wilfull, or bad men, for we hear already, and that not on-

ly by an *Ides'd Prosopopœia* of all sorts of wills, minds, humours, parties, and factions, what they are apt to say, but personally also what divers in part have and do say, *via*. these or the like sayings, clamors, and exclamations following; So, Now we are absolute Slaves, farewell then our Laws, and Liberties, and *ad placitum*, our lives also, for the Souldiery will and may as they list, and we as we can; we see plainly that the Sword domineers, rules, and revels it, and plays reaks circularly, for it selfly dissolves, and then creates, and then dissolves again our *Parliaments*, *ad placitum*, and so recreates it self with such pastimes, it turn'd from, and would none of Monarchy, nor Kinghood, but * Anarchy only, that so it might turn to them the better, to serve its own turn, for it did but out-face them, and then face about, and so turn'd to both again, and Anarchy also; so we are where, and as we were, only † Anarchy is added to substract, divide, and confound us. Names, Persons, and some Presentments are changed, but natures are the same; why then all this ado, except to undo all? If Kinghood was intended again, as it was pretended against, why kept we not him we had? or why have we not him we should have? and lest of all, why have we him we should not have? why, say others, any *King* at all?

* *As our Parliaments proved, by reason of confused aims, ends, judgements, and opinions.*

† *Divisions by Sects, as call'd, which now are remedied with justice and safety, by the 37. Article for an inforced consent with a knowing people, would confound all.*

why

why not rather *Parliaments*, or *Councils* of *State*? are not *Hogen-Mogens*, high and mighty States and Powers, stately Governments and titles? why also the Army dissolve the first Parliament? and then create and unstate the second, without the said Parliaments or peoples consent, and then selfly resolve and dissolve all things, *ad placitum*? why the Protectorship assum'd? or if confer'd, why by a patty only? why not the whole Parliament invest the invested? or isn't not rather a formal investure, as fearing force? or choose they not cunningly to be chosen? also to countenance the chosen, as if of Free-choice, and so Authentick to colour and hide Usurpation? For sure the *Sword*, like the *Sworded Angel*, which with his Trenchunt anh threatening *Blade*, awed *Adam* from returning to his *Kingdom* and *Kinghood* again, and reserved it for his own * *King*; so our *Sword* awes all *Adams* and *Eves* too, from returning to invade this reserved Kingdom, this *Edow*, this *Paradise*, and place of bliss and pleasure, and hath made this Angel its *Guardjan*, whose brandisht blade must keep them at an awful distance, from accessing, till he † recedes, least they approach to their reproach, the *Golden Scepter* without its * extension, or holding out, &c.

* *God.*

† *By death.*

* *Till chosen.*

2. I have purposely rendered it as high as it can well be, that so answering all those exceptions, which seem almost unanswerable, we shall silence all insolent Excepters: For had I not for'd so high, I should have been overtoppt, and outbrav'd as not answered, nor answerable, much to the dishonor of our present and future Powers, yet what's already done, hath done it, but cause not rendred in their taunting *Dialect*, though yet *dialectically*, they either cannot, or will not see it, nor it may be can many of our Readers read our meaning in our other answer, to answer these, so it falls to our share to comply, to give circular satisfaction, which we will do the best we can, What wilt thou say then, if I prove, that thou, so each Individual in the whole Nation that excepts, have done their shares, in what they except against: Sure I shall go neer, (if rational thou beest) to compress thee for future, but if irrational, thou deservest suppression, for why should Beasts rank, or Rival it with men?

3. Know then weaklings, that the first Parliament was chosen by each individual in the whole Nation, and so by thee that exceptest, yea by those uncapable of choosing, as by *Wives*, *Children*, and *Servants*, who yet chose inclusively by their *Husbands*, *Parents*, and

and pay Masters; and as for any others that personally choose not, they yet choose also inclusively in the choosers capable of choosing, by Lawes, Consent, or Customs, that such so landed, qualified and decreed shall choose; thus the childe in the Mothers lap chooseth also, though it vocally chose not,

4. To the Parliament so chosen, all refer themselves, by way of betrust, for all things apparently conducing, and for doubtfuls to the hopefullst and most promising; and if then errors be, to bear them as they must their own in the like case, but whats apparently against the common good; thats not the peoples act, for it's besides, or against the end of betrust, so the people are not bound to it in right, yet might will bind them, and each individual is in right bound also, rather then wrong one another, or indanger the general.

† Note, all done by any Parliament, is the Act of the People, each Individuall, but plain appearances against the common good. So thou wilt find all thou objectest against, done by thy self, except such.

5. Well, thus by thee, so each individual, a Parliament is created, and refer'd to as before; and this Parliament so created, creates an Army for universal defence, as of themselves and thee, so of the three Nations, and Heads his *Higness*, head thereof, impowring him to supply with, or supplant, impower or dispower Souldier of all sorts as conduceth; thus this *General* and *Souldiery* also are chosen, and impowered by thee, as by thy choosers, thy Parliament, for defenders of the three Nations as afore; and the chiefe Commanders place intitles him Lord, and thy Parliament, and so thy self hath so intitled him also; and Defender is in nature Protector, for sure Defenders are Protectors, and Protectors are Defenders and in nature no more: These titles then were his by virtue of his power and place before he thus had them, and are only now articulated, and not conferred, sure then an assumption of them, had not been presumption: The King was called the *Faiths Defender*, might he not then call himself its *Protector*? sure he might, what's the discrimen? what's the crimen to call so?

6. *Higness* also was his due before, if to be highest in point of just power and trust will allow thereof, which *Protectors* and *Defenders* must be; sure highest tho superlative, will allow of highness a positive or near it: suppose the first Parliament highest in a deputative right, yet highest in just might will and justly may dispute it, yea with Kings as call'd, to make sure work for his own, his Souldery, and his Countreys right, wellfare and safeties, over which as a *Protector* he was put and betrust, and answerably may impower, dis-

dispower and over-power any power whatsoever, else he cannot circularly defend and protect; if he cannot, as occasion is, prostrate also the very protected, if they offensively oppose the *Protector*, or any protecteds: If this Power then be not capable of all I have said, I know not what is, so not what to say, nor what I have said: I say not, that he may in right *ad libitum*, do as he list, (though by Might he may, yet I hope will not) for he is bound by his oath and betrust, to all universal conducing, and to individuals, not clashing therewith, nor with individual Justice, &c.

7. Besides the aforesaid choice of him, as the highest and chiefeft Power by the whole Nation, and so each individual, and so thy self by thy first Parliament, I have proved in the Army-Armed, at page 9. Sect. 1. to the end, that the whole Nation, and so thy self, and each individual, chose, impowred, and intituled him, as afore, the second time also.

*These three
ways of
choise quit
from usurpati-
on.*

** The common
good and safe-
ty.*

Lastly, I say, and prove, that his own, so the whole Nations necessities of peace, welfare, and safety, might choose him the third time, and impower and intitle him, as afore. I say then, that this last choice alone may justifie all, if the* end of all be made good in the end. Sure then this threefold cord will fortifie, if used accordingly:

8. But thou sayest, that this Power is in nature, (though not in name) Kinghood and Monarchy; be it so to please thee, why yet exceptest thou at what by all our arguments and his threefold cord is, as afore, thy own act, and what (it may be) necessitated conducing make his also, for the better, quicker, and safer conduct of all things, than by Parliaments alone, of which thou canst not judg, yet wilt; and they better can, so may, and will.

9. Thou sayest also, that he hath Honors, Titles, and Revenues; likewise a Retinue or Train of Attendance and State, and an estate King-like; this I know not, so will not dispute; but be it so, it matters not, for I have already satisfied thee that it's thine owne act, or however thou shalt be satisfied before I have done with thee.

10. Thou goest on, why except against Kinghood, yet now *King* it? so it was only to unking, to King is.

Ans. Truly no wisdom can foresee what experience and time may shew in their season; if our wisers now by experience and a further insight, find that this our now Kinghood, as thou call'st it, and as it now is, or may be qualified, is as, or more hopeful and

Pro.

promising, though yet hazardable, as are all Governments; also more suiting to the glory and the bravery of our Nation, and the constitution of the people, whom in general no other Government seems so well to content; also considering Parliaments alone hitherto have not answered their expectations almost in any degree, by reason of factions and divisions, so of delayes, or not doing at all, besides many other objections and exceptions as are made against them, of which I judg not, nor can, but leave it to my Judges, who seem to judg so: I say then, seeing we must venture on some Government, and that now our Governours, as afore, find by experience this of the Protectorship as qualified, is as hopefull and promising as any, and in some things (as they conceive) before them; by their preferring it afore them: Can the wise blame the wise, if seeing their errors of ruining, for righting; they now being better inform'd, reform; the wisest have their weaknesses, and the best some wickedness; the wise must needs fail, where wisdom is only had by experience, so they were ignorant before, yet not fools, though not so wise; for nothing is blind (though it see not) till capable of sight, but when we see, shall we not give each colour its due, 'cause when blind, we judg'd them all black?

11. Thou seest then that there might be good reasons why Kinghood was declin'd, and yet now (as qualifi'd) inclin'd to, Logick then, nor the Lawes of Love allow thee to conclude absolutely, or certainly from uncertainties; nor to censure where thou oughtest to respice or remiss it, till certain; How then is't, thou absolutely sayest, They did unking, to King it, as thou pleasest to call the Protectorship, seeing they might unking to State it, though now again with some cautions and considerations they unstate to King it, as thou call'st it? Thou yet goest on, Why then not keep our first King, &c. but ruine him, for righting him, or why not inright our second, his first Son, &c?

12. *Ans.* Certainly didst thou mind what thou readest, thou would not thus query things out of question. I tell thee once more, we could not foresee what we now see of Parliaments, by reason of their own, their friends, and choosers ends and aims; nor could we foresee, nor had we power (had we seen) to set right that King who had wrong'd all, and so over-king'd it, for Majesty will not be easily over-mastered, only will cunningly comply, to gather strength to re-master it, nor was it fit in Justice, to let one so un-

As the people
are their Fa-
thers, &c.

just go free, for so all future Powers might presume, who now are forewarn'd what to trust to; and for his Son, he is justly punishable, as well as his Father, for siding with his Father against both: Their Fathers the people, in treacheries, murders, and paricides, rapes, and rapines, &c. and the whole stock is justly stockt up, least any of its shoots or branches (bramble-like) taking root, should root us out, and bring in the Scot to top us, and then over-top us.

13. But once more to answer and silence thee fully by thy self in these particulars also, as in the rest; its thou, I say, each individual that exceptest, hast by thy Parliaments and Powers, as afore, done what thou exceptest against, its thou then by them hast executed the first King and outed the second King, his Son, and with him the whole Seed; its thou that created, and then uncreated thy first Parliament, by Petitioning against them, and then created a second Parliament, by thy Powers left in the first Parliaments places, and then dissolved them again by the said Powers, and now last of all advanced, and heightened the said Powers, in Power, Titles, State, and Estate, or Revenue, and Retinue, &c. against all which thou so objectest, and exceptest. See the *Army-Armed* page 4. Sect. 7: so page 9. to the end.

† Till try'd.

14. Well, we have not yet done, for it's objected, that his Choosers chose him, to be chosen of or by him, and of fear, least infocced. I answer, this is surmise, not knowledg; so its, as afore, against the Laws of Love and Logick, so also of Romans, Heathens, and Pagans, to judg the y unjudgable, &c. I answer, yet further, admit both true, yet both are false, in respect of thy intention, for they advantage not the Objecter, but are against him, and for the objected against; for if they choose him, they could not but choose, it was wisely done to make a virtue of necessity; and with a wife and wary fear to prevent force, which, if thou provest not, and if thou dost, its of no force, as thou shalt find, seeing also experience of his wisdom, faithfulness, and fortitude, chose him to their hands, how then can they do otherwise then choose the so chosen, seeing some Governours, or Governour, and Government must be chosen and ventured on? All arguments then, both from God and man, bid them choose and venture on the Son of Jesse, rather then on any of the Sons of Kish, as not on any of Sams Sons, or on any of all his Princes, people, or servants, cause the Son of Jesse was wiser in his in and out-going with Sams servants, then them

them all, so that the eyes of all *Israel* observed it, and that so, as *Saul* himself was afraid thereof, and his beloved *Jonathan* knew, and acknowledged as much to *David* his lover, and beloved.

15. *Ob.* They chose him to colour and hide Usurpation.

Ans. As for Usurpation, I have answered it in divers places, that it is not, and were it, yet with our cautions, it answers for itself: But I say further, it's wisdom to give as good a countenance as may be, even to things lawful, which selfly needs them not, yet needs them to relieve against discountenancing, by depraveds, and discontenteds.

16. *Ob.* Yet again, our Liberties are lost, and we are absolute Slaves.

Ans. For lost Liberties, see the loosers who, and why, and how they will, for any thing I can see, yet loose them, so may they know whom to blame; but if more be taken then are lost, or the lost not restored, as the loosers find themselves, or are found by their Keepers, blame their Keepers also, for they are the * loosers, so far as they are Ravishers of Rights.

See page 3. to
the end of the
Army-Armed
* Of the Peo-
ples rights.

17. We are absolute Slaves, &c. the answer afore answers this, but I will compleat it: You say, but shew not how, or in what, or why, for as yet in *Esse* you are not, though in *Posse* and *Potentia* you seemingly are, and will be so, for ought I see; and when were you otherwise? were you not so in *Posse* and *Potentia* to all your Kings and Governours, so also to your most choice and picked Parliaments? What could you do, if they would venture their own undoings to undo you, but undo one another? Nay, you alone had in *Esse* been undone, had not the Army by their *Potentia* done for you, and relieved you: It's your selves then beslave your selves, and so forfeit ye your Liberties, by your licentiateness, as by your factions, divisions, and several self-ends, which hostile you one against another, yea against your own Mother your Native Country that bare and brought you up, &c. Surely the so divided, are soon sub-divided, and so subdued: could you forsake your selves, it were the only way to find your selves; for would you concentrate all your particular ends in the † generals Centre, you would there meet, whereas now you are bemet with, and it would render you powerfully defensive and offensive, so it's factions that frictions you, and self-ends that divide and undo you.

† Or Publique.

18. For let's suppose no common Governour at all to defend a-

ny of us, or right the wronged, what would become of us all to right our selves, but a continuation and addition of wrongs? for what is't that Power and Pravity would not do, and undo? what is't, that lust, pleasures, need, and necessities would not perpertrate? no Castles, Towers, nor houses would hold us, in points of offence, or defence, for clandestines, and treacheries, and Power of one kind or other, would over-power, both circularly, and individually.

19. To remedy which, we are forc't by our follies to disarm our selves of offensive and defensive Power, for wronging others, or righting our own wrongs, and to venture our selves on one or more common Governours (yet trusty and hopeful) Defenders and Protectors, whom we arm with the Sword and Law over us, yet for us, to see to, and secure us all, both in our rights, and from ruine.

Now thus disarmed, and such Governours armed, we are as good as naked in point of power, for defence against the said Governours, if they would contrary to their Trust offend us, for their defensive Power enables (but inrights them not) to offend us; but this know, that it's our own doings, as afore, that undo us, and renders us slaves in *Possesse* and *Potentia* to these Powers, and it's the wickedness of these Powers that renders us slaves in *Essse*, if beyond our doings.

20. *Ob.* But sure, this entertaining Kinghood again, is against vovves, oaths, promises, and protests, &c.

Ans. Still thou wilt have it Kinghood, be it so then, for we will not displease thee, so not dispute it. I answer, I know not of any such Covenants, or protests against, &c. but grant all, see in past our answer in the *Army Armed*, pag. 15. Sect. 22. to which we add to make all unanswerable, that in our own self-concernments, we are bound to suffering Covenants, &c. but not to sinfull, as are destructive, but to anothers unjust or injurious suffering we may not make, or if made, not keep, except we can make satisfaction: Its a sin to make unlawful, injurious, or suffering Covenants against any one, and its a greater sin to keep them: Sins single are sufficient, they cannot be lessened by addition, or enlarging; so such Covenants are best kept by breaking, for their keeping breaks their Keeper, and their careless making, mars him.

Saul was justly punished; for unjustly punishing the *Gibconites*;

contrary to Covenant, for they brake not with him, nor was the said Covenant dangerous or destructive to him nor his, for they were his slaves and servile servants, and so very serviceable to him and his people, but had they any way invaded or indangered his rights, he had serv'd them rightly to ruine them.

No. 30. The wife could not, nor can in reason make any vow at all, no not a pious or holy one, as might the Widdow, a self-pow-
er, 'cause it invaded her husbands rights, though she wrong'd him
not, and though made, it was breakable by her husband, and so by
her, and God did forgive her, only he taught her to be more wise
and obedient next time; as not to presume to usurp authority over
her man, for it was not woman-like; so all our Powers, as relating
to the publique, are not self-Powers, for they are but wives to their
husbands, the Publiques good and safety, so may they not make,
or if made, not keep, suffering, injurious, indangering, or destructive
Covenants made amongst our selves, against their Husband and
Head; but if made with a justly offended enemy, who being
wrong'd, is forc'd by force to right himself, and hath gain'd power
to ruine his wrongers: I conceive suffering, yea indangering Co-
venants are there to be kept, because they are short of present ru-
ine, which attends, if the just Conquerour be not attended in his
demands; so a suffering Covenant that saves, is to be saved harm-
less: But this asks more dispute then this place will allow of, so I
am not dogmatical, but doubting, and yet, it may be, I am more a-
fraid then hurt.

*Sufferingly,
yes it was u-
surpation and
so unjust.*

*As we over
the Scots.*

And whereas last of all, thou sportest thy self with thy gay and
taunting language of the Angels guarding, this reserved Eden, this
Paradise, this place of blis and pleasure, as thou art pleas'd to call
it: I answer thee, that thou canst not make good what thou sayest,
why then sayest thou it? how makest thou it appear to be such a
Paradise, or place of pleasure, whereas, when all things are consid-
ered, it will appear otherwise? how canst thou say its accepted
or assum'd, (if so thou wilt have it assum'd) as such a place, seeing
there may be other reasons for its acceptance, or assuming?

How is't then thou still wilt certain it from uncertainties, as to
conclude it of self-ends of Sovereignty, &c.? seeing it may as well
be from contrary ends, as from the countermands of necessitated
publique conducings, viz. the peace, welfare, and safety of the pub-
lique, which seem hazardable by delays and divisions in Parlia-
ment,

*Things that
forbid one to
venture on.*

ment, for shame then humanize and rationalize it, for the Lawes of Love and Logick are still againſt thee, as in doubtſuls to be dogmatical, reſerve then, or remiſs it in judging, till apparent grounds be, and then appear with judgment, or appear not, for if well weighed, vvhat invitations are there for Kinghood, as thou call'ſt it? Surely, ſurprizals do continually attend the moſt attended, ſo that they have not the liberty, freedome, or ſerenity of ſpirit, as have the lower in condition and conditions, but are ever and anon clouded with black and ſwarthy fears of clauſtrefines: in their Sun ſhines, they are Sun-burnt, and in the ſhade, they are
 * over-shadowed, with the darkneſs of cares and fears which eclipse them, and ſo render their mid-dayes, mid-nights: they cannot ſort with their conſorts ſo ſweetly as canſt thou, and their ſleep is but wakeful ſlumberings, for if ſound, its not ſecure, 'cauſe ſecure, for reſpoſe, arreſt them with unquietneſs: Sure, thou haſt no ſenſe, only thy ſenſes, ſo canſt not ſee inviſibles, for the * inviſibles of ſhades and ſur-faces, but couldſt thou penetrate their intrinſiques, they would penetrate thee, and render thee a *Penitent*; for beſides what's afore. Is't nothing to be continually dogged and hunted by a brace of deep and fowl-mouth'd Bloud-hounds, viz. envy and revenge, the one alwayes ſnarling at greatneſs and goodneſs, as a bitter enemy to both, the other raving againſt great and ſmall that croſs them in their wayes, ends, ſuits, or Petitions, which it may be cannot be granted them; Is't nothing to keep in peace an unpeaceable, factious, divided, and diſcontented people, and to civilize uncivil war amongſt them; and ſo render their country † refin'd? Is't nothing to bandy it in arms; and mate the unmatched? and wiſely correſpond it with all Forraign Princes, Powers, and States, and to prevent or ſupplant their wiles, by * wiles? is't nothing to be invironed and over-laid with a world of difficulties paſt reſolving what to do, or not do, even to deſtruction? is not the peace, freedome, and quietneſs of mind, and a ſecure enjoymēt of liberty, far before theſe admired and opinionated glories, which ſure were it not for the publique good, it were a glory to be without them? I dare not ſay all I could ſay, and I am afraid I have already ſaid too much; for I will aſſure thee I cannot find, why any one (all things conſidered) ſhould covet for their ſelf-ends, to wreath, or begirt their Temples with a Crown of Thornes, 'cauſe of gold, or gilded, ſeeing it draws bloud as well from the heart, as the head,

* Too mimble.

* As meer nothing.

† In that point

* Wiſdom and policy.

head, and from the brain as from both? but the publique good, welfare, peace, and safety, must be undertaken by some, else both it and all Privates will suffer, and we ought by the Lawes of Love and charity judg it to be the chief ground of its undertaking, till we see plainly to the contrary, which when thou dost, contrary me, &c.

But its time I draw to an end, and yet it behoves me before I end humbly to hint and *memorandum*, all Governours of some useful concernments, relating to themselves and the people, also to do as much by the people in relation to their Governours, in points of judging and censuring, &c. *and so retaliate each side rightly.*

Sure, its a hard task on both sides, as first for the wronged people, as they conceive of themselves, to suffer with a slavish fear and silence, or to find no redress after a right information, according to the end of Governours and Government, but contrary to both, to be confin'd or compress'd, against both which I except, except the common good injoyn, which if it do, I joyn with it, for its own sake (as necessitated) will justify any necessitated individual injustice for just.

Its as hard also for *Governours*, though never so wise and just, yet to be just to all, or if they be, yet to satisfie the unjust, or just, in their wicked or weak exceptions and judgments, nor can the Governour alwayes do Justice if he would, for that by-ends and pretences, or false witness, and fallacious arguments deceive, so deviate the best of men, and ablest of judgment, *for the ablest are not absolute*, nor can contrary suits and Petitions be comply'd to, nor ought, but only the appearing just, &c. but then the cross fall † a curling.

† Exclaiming.

The wise *Solomon* saw this, yet was seemingly over-seen, so he was forc't to pretend * treachery, to find out truth, &c.

* As in the Harlots cases.

Nay, God himself, (with reverence be it spoken) is not wise enough (though wisdom it self) to deal with some wilfuls and conceiteds, except he will reverse or alter nature, or their natures, for is he not ply'd daily and hourly with infinites of contrary and clashing Petitions; some Petition for fair weather for their weddings, walks and journeys, or other pleasures, others for a sober showre to water their gardens, a third sort for a sound one for their grain and grass; What shall the wise and just God doe with these weaklings, who for self-ends oppose nature, and the
God

God of nature, so one another, and the *General*, and petition and importune God to alter or reverse nature, only to grace them.

Winds contrary almost all, for they can content but from one Coast at once, but God is petitioned from all Coasts, parts, and points of the world, by infinite contrary and dissenting Petitioners; how shall he do, except he undo all, as afore, and so he shall have enough to do, for if he hearken to one, the rest will not hearken to him, 'cause it contraries them; and if he hearken to all he cannot hear any at all, for all of them oppose one another, and him also; so to please them all, he must displease them all, and bring winds from each part or point of the compass or circumference to meet in the Center-point, and there to abide and oppose each other, till these weaklings learn more wit, and agree, that the winds shall return to their places again, and they will hence-forward take their turns and places. Thus we may see that there is a world of foolish *Zebudean* and giddy-brain'd *Phaeton* Petitioners and Suiters, that know not what they would or should have, and only here and there

* *A wise man.* a * *Phabus*, that knows what to ask and forego, and why, and why not, &c.

Some set the *Beacon* on fire, others quench it, *fire* and *water* fall out and oppose, and in revenge (to right themselves, or so overcome by might) Petition against each other, both would be comply'd to, and yet it may be neither can, but a third must; how shall the wisest and best of *Governours* do to keep the *Beacon* burning, and yet quench it?

The *Lairy* would no *Tythes*, the *Clergy* would, eager Petitionings and arguments are on each sides, and it may be fallacious also; the fallacious are true to the abused *Governour*, and the true false; til he be fully inform'd, he must then of necessity (right or wrong) comply to the most appearing right; for the wise *Solomon*, as afore, in doubtfuls, was almost to seek what to do, so was forc'd to dissemble † treachery, to find out the Traytor.

Henceforward then compress, silence, or remiss it, in judging absolutely of *Governours* actions, so of their granting or denying of *Suits* and *Petitions*, except plain and apparent, and then I will not appear for them, nor against thee, nor yet I will, if they make not inquisition for truth, and a disquisition of falshood, but perfunctorily pass over both, as willing to be deceived, that so they may deceive; blame also thy Adversary that would deceive the

Govern.

Two books
that opposed
about books.

As to kill the
living child.

Governours, and so thee, so blame thy self, if thou wouldst the same, for thy self-ends, and know, that the *cross* may justly expect to be crost, yet are too oft blest, and comply'd to, and the complying crost.

And now oh you Governours of all sorts, as I have done you all the right I can, so it next concerns me to do the people right also, what should I say to you more then I have said, and you already know? you are betruſted to the height of betruſt, for they have King'd you, or rather Goded you in point of power, and so God himself saith, I have said ye are Gods, &c. but yet remember you are but men, and must die like them; have they not put into your hands all that is neer and dear to them? as their Lawes, Lives, and Livelyhood, Liberties, and Religion, and have accommodated you with Honors and Revenues accordingly; and lastly, bathed you in their behalves; Need I say how these ingage? sure I need not, for make it but your own cases, and the case is altered, do then as you would be done to, more is not required, nor less can, yet less will and shall; for we know you cannot do all you should or would for what you cannot: Set before you a Deaths Head, as Kings have done, or let some of the servants mind you in your pleasures and pastimes, so at your repasts, festivals, and banquetings, as did a King with this Memento, *Remember, oh King, that thou art but a man, &c.* you cannot presume of a moment (though Gods) so momentary are you; therefore this instant endeavour to make good the peoples betruſt and hopes all you can, that when you are gone, your names may live honorably famous to eternity, you may be suddainly surpriz'd by sickness or death, or a thousand casualties, oh cast to prevent casting, by prudently providing for the people, and your own posterities and kindred (which in infinity of time may be infinite) to leave them as free as you can; though not free, which in this world will never be, leave them not slaves to any Powers when you are gone, more then will prevent their slaveryes, for there is no bondage like a licentiate liberty, nor any freedom like a wise restraint, that so by the observance of the aforesaid, men (what they may) may be distinguished from beasts. But its time I end, for I fear I have been over-bold, and so tiresome in matter, manner, and extent, but we hope our fair intentions will be look't on, and not over-look't.



Postscript.

A Word or two about the *Ordinance*, what shall be *Treason*. Truly we conceiv'd, that by our aforesaid lines, all clamors would have been hush'd and laid, but our *Prosopopoeia* finds that the *Ordinance* hath by the wickednesse of some, and weaknesse of other-some, heightened them, in that they dare it yet higher, and march it like furious *Iehu*, in their movings and onsets: For, now (say they) it appears plainly to be *usurpation*, in that feare attends guilt, and force and fraud attend fear, and so must fortifie for it: So these have brought forth this aforesaid * *Monster* (against truth) which Powers make by the *Ordinance*: thus to support * treachery, all true men must Be made traytors, that speak, write, preach or act so and so.

* The Ordinance.

* Unlawful usurpation, as shall d.

Answer. That it's not usurpation, I have already clear'd it; and were it usurpation (with our cautions) I yet have or will cleare it from the injustice of their clamors. And were it usurpation absolute, yet as qualified it's clearable from their clamors, as we shall shew. However (if usurpation) yet we cleare it (by our following arguments) from being so, from their arguments of fortifying by an *Ordinance*, &c. Place then, if thou please, justice and innocency on the *Throne*, yet these *antagonists*, *envy*, *malice*, and *revenge* will endeavour their dethroning. Needs it not then that they provide for themselves? Nay, would God himself personally inthroned it, there is that would disceptr and unthroned him: truly *Samuel* they have deposed me, for they have outed me as well as thee; they are a simple, a wilfull and rebellious people *Samuel*, for they neither know nor care what they say or do.

Again, have not all the best, and most innocent Princes, Powers and Potentates been inforc'd to secure their safety? Nay, were it not trechery, not selfy to secure it? And were it not trechery to the publike (as its peace and safety are concern'd) not to secure the so * concern'd, can either the Protector or protected be secure, without good security? is not supinenesse in either treason to both? How can any protector protect except protected?

Hed

His High-
ness.

Had it not then been made treason by an Ordinance, yet Religion, Reason, Nature and necessity ordain it so, so then thou hadst been no lesse a traytor then now thou art, though thou hadst * not been one. * By a Writ.
 Sure there is a transgression where is no † law, 'cause there is a † Writ.
 * law to hamper the lawlesse. Might each one kill, murther, rob and † In nature.
 rape it, till trembling mount *Sinas* with astonishing, thunder and lightning proclaim'd an Ordinance against them? This is enough to prove that thou usurpest on thy argument, to infer usurpation from what's no argument.

I have hinted on my Title, to allow the people their uttermost liberties in chusing their Governors, &c. which I will do for this once, though this once be once too much. Suppose then, all the capable of chusing, according to former Lawes and Customes are met on *Salisbury* plaine, to chuse their governour or governours and government, certainly you shall there see represented the *Chaos* again, or *Babels* confusion; for few or none of them knowes what they should have; nor well what they would. And did any know what they should or would, yet infinite of ignorants and wilfull ones so oppose them, that they are *posed* or *deposed*: Oh what a confused noise of contradictions and clamors that is among them, like the jangling of bells rung backward! so that if *Cassius* should bring us the tidings, what could he say but that he saw a great multitude, but could not tell what to make thereof, as they could not of themselves.

Here's a Party for his *Highness* that now is, there's another for the King of Scots that now is not, here's several others for divers individuals, their friends, to King or Protector them: Some again are not for any Individual Governour at all; but are all for a Parliament, or Councel of State, &c. Those for Individuals fall out amongst themselves, each for his man, and with Parliaments, &c. about their men; those for Parliaments, &c. fall out with those who are for any individual Governour whatsoever, so with themselves about their own individuals of Parliament; suppose the vote for a Parliament carry it, then the Parliament so chosen, may in likelihood faction it for their choosers, so themselves and theirs. Thus by-ends turn by the right end, as the Publiques peace, safety, and welfare, and the croft fall a cursing and rage it, high affrontings and darings are, and revenge revels it, and arrives to hand-contests, out-lies the flaming Semiters on all sides, so that each brother-like

Joabs and Abners gallants, is ready to *thrill* his brother. Suppose his Highness, whilst Lord General, seeing this, should with his Souldiery suddainly surround and surprize them all, and make them his Prisoners, and so Freemen, by delivering them from themselves, and so from one another, and by disarming, arm them, and then send them home in safety, willing them not to fall out by the way, for what they are Brethren; and should thereupon (as thus necessitated for his own and Souldiers safety, so the Publiques) mount the Throne, put on the Crown, and assume the Scepter, &c. and so King it, intitule, &c. as thus intituled thereto; I demand, is this usurpation, I, or no? the weakling it may be will have it so, 'cause it's without the universal choice of the people; but the wise man saith, that it's not usurpation, 'cause chosen by his own deserts, so by the peoples desires, &c. (as by their necessities of peace and safety) for what have we to do, saith the wise man, with *articulate* choice, if just necessities article against it? Now if the so chosen shall conducingly protect and govern us, which I hope he will, I pray you then allow him what he hath, at least, seeing they who had much more, did much less.

To conclude, what did *Saul*, or *Sauls* Son *David* for the Publique, to this our Son of *Issa*, for their *Kinghoods*? one of them was fetch't from seeking *Asses*, the other from folding of *Sheep*, yet (for killing a Giant at distance, whom it may be he durst not come neer) was as good as King'd; but our *David* hath apparently (and not of self-report only) kill'd many Lions Bears, and Giants, so is justly (as well as *David*) chosen for his deserts, besides twice of the People, as I have proved, yet of the desertlelle, should be deserted, though thus asserted, were it not for &c.

